and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in his territory. The Monguors were exempted from these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

[P. 64-b]

624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gîte* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 651 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 264 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 796 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[1]

177 792 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[1] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organisation of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families.

769 792 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

969 527 More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

576 624 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[P. 72a]

1: Schram, M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 624 "when their ministers of state had audience with the Khakhan, etiquette required them to remove the hat and enter with dishevelled hair, something akin to the Hsiungnu custom." [39]

FESTIVAL

•527 Chinese merchants, who keep themselves informed of all festival dates among the Monguors, of course gather in great numbers and pitch their tents in the wide valley below the cemetery. The merchants pay taxes for permission to attend such gatherings.

On this occasion, a very large tent was pitched within which the T'u-ssu presided over the festivities, seated in the midst of the nobles, the elders, and all the prominent non-nobles of the clan, receiving the renewed professions of allegiance of his subjects. The chiefs and elders of each village, ceremonially dressed, came up one after another to do homage, bowing kneeling, and performing the *k'o-t'ou* or prostration, taking their time from the master of ceremonies who shouted his directions in a loud voice. The T'u-ssu, at the height of his glory, was happy to entertain each and every man for a few moments. Hundreds of Monguors crowded around, looking on and enjoying the ceremony.

Finally, dinner was eaten by the T'u-ssu and all the chiefs and prominent members of the clan, some seated inside the tent and an overflow outside seated on felt rugs at small tables. The customary whole sheep, the traditional dish of honor of all Inner Asian nomads, was presented to the T'u-ssu. Wine was drunk and tongues began to wag. A couple of girls with pleasing voices were invited to sing the customary songs, outside the tent and in the presence of the crowd. A number of men and women presented graceful dances, each dancing alone without a partner, to the music of a simple guitar-like instrument. Youngsters raced on unsaddled, spirited horses, passing before the tent to cross the finish line, and finally two wrestlers, a Monguor and a Tibetan lama from the monastery of Serkok, were admired and congratulated. A number of Monguors and Tibetans, befuddled with liquor, started fighting, and soldiers closed in on them to restore order. Before sunset most of the crowd had gone, leaving a few small groups still sitting on the ground, singing and making merry.

The Monguors told me that this glorious day seldom passed without a certain amount of disturbance and fighting; but the tradition is that no suits can be brought before the T'u-ssu or the village chiefs for heads smashed, bones broken, and clothes torn on this day of celebration.

ASSIZES OF THE CLAN

692 The next morning the assizes of the clan began inside the big tent, presided over by the T'u-ssu, with the chief

[39] E. H. Parker, *A thousand years of the Tartars*, 211, 2nd ed., London, Kegan, Paul, 1924. (It should be noted, however, that among the Mongols the custom is the opposite; it is an incivility to take off the hat in the presence of a superior.—O. L.)

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 When the child has been admired and the parents congratulated, the mother's mother presents her with sixteen loaves of steamed bread, four loaves baked in oil, a leg of mutton, and some clothes—a gown, a pair of trousers, or a jacket. The costliness of the clothes varies according to the wealth of the family. The mother's mother also presents the boy with a complete suit of clothes and a fine cap. A special custom, the significance of which I was unable to discover, is that the family of the father's mother and the family of the mother's mother each present the midwife with a piece of red cotton cloth four feet long.

431 553 851 A practical present from a guest to the young mother is 100 pierced copper cash on a red cord, or a four foot piece of red or green cotton cloth. Another common gift is an embroidered cap for the boy, or, following Chinese custom, a "long life lock"—a small brass lock hung around the boy's neck. Rich families are frequently given scrolls with Chinese texts inscribed on them. The boy's maternal uncle gives him "flowers of long life"—a pair of earrings, each studded with a small flower. The boy wears these in childhood and when he grows up he buys himself a larger pair. These earrings are supposed to insure him a long life.

When the presents have been given the father of the child offers wine to each guest, beginning with the child's maternal uncles, and to each guest, as the wine is offered, the mother prostrates herself with the child in her arms and says "The boy prostrates himself and thanks you."

FEAST IN THE VILLAGE

553 •527 851 A merry crowd of village youngsters then leads into the courtyard a cow whose horns have been painted red and decorated with flowers. A red-painted bell hangs around the cow's neck, and she is saddled with a fine saddle and a bright saddle-rug. The grandfather is invited by the youngsters to ride on the cow, and willy nilly he has to accept this invitation. The youngsters help him up to the saddle and then hold the child up for him to take it in his arms. The cow is then led in triumph through the village, two banners from the temple at the head of the procession, drums beating and all the guests following the cow and its rider. When they return to the courtyard, the grandfather offers the young people two bottles of wine, two legs of mutton, and bowls of noodles and wheat fried in butter. This part of the entertainment is noisy and merry.

If the father's father is no longer living, it is the father's mother who has to make the triumphal ride on the cow. Otherwise the father's mother's share of the ceremonies consists in presenting to the mother of her daughter-in-law two loaves of bread, two strings of pierced copper cash, and a scarf of felicity. As she does so, she bows, presents a cup of wine, and thanks her daughter-in-law's mother for accepting the invitation to the feast and wishes her joy and happiness.

Up to this point the whole village has taken part in

[P.102a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

553 851 527 the festivities, except for the herdsmen and shepherds who are out in the hills. They must not be overlooked, however, for the tradition of the nomadic past of the Monguors assures them a part. When the sun is deep in the west, therefore, the father and mother take their child and go out to a place beyond the village, which has been previously agreed upon. The father takes with him a bottle of wine and twelve rolls of bread, eight of which are to be distributed to passers-by met along the road and four to be given to the shepherds.

The shepherds have woven a long girdle for the child from wool as white as snow, and this they present to the child. They also have with them some copper coins, and these they place kindly on the milk-swollen breast of the happy mother. They crowd around to see the child and pat its soft cheeks with their rough and calloused hands. When they congratulate the mother, they present her with a small bundle of whitest wool, plucked from the backs of young sheep, saying "This wool has been gathered from the backs of hundreds of the most beautiful sheep; may your boy grow up to shear the wool of hundreds of sheep and may he have hundreds of horses to ride." The four rolls of bread are then presented to the shepherds, together with a cup of wine and some copper coins for each man. The mother invites the shepherds to dinner, the herds are driven to their stalls, and the shepherds dine and make merry all night in the courtyard.

I have often seen this simple, pastoral, and idyllic spectacle outside the village at sundown, the happy parents, the faithful shepherds, and the flocks and herds around them making a wonderful picture that recalls the past of centuries ago when the Monguors were a pastoral people. Even the traditional words of greeting and congratulation used by the shepherds are an echo of this nomadic past.

All the details that I have described emphasize the importance attached by the Monguors to the birth of a boy who will grow up to sacrifice to the ancestors and be himself a new link in the ancestral chain. The ceremonies are observed in full, as I have described them, only for the first son of each daughter-in-law in the extended family. For younger sons and for girls all that is required is that the grandfather give a name and that the parents and maternal uncles of the mother be invited. In poor families, of course, the celebration is less elaborate; but well to do families often help their poorer neighbors with the expenses of a feast for the first-born son.

DEDICATION OF THE CHILD TO THE SPIRITS

852 When a family has few children, or has had several children die, a child is often dedicated to some particular spirit. The dedication is seldom done for a first boy in good health. Very seldom is the child dedicated to a deity of the lama-Buddhist pantheon, for in that case the boy is supposed to have to become a lama later.

al: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[715] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

[P. 117a]

/44 cont'd/
585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[532] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
585 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organi-
262 zation of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they buried themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house [776 782] she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

593 /83 cont'd/
574 daughters-in-law cannot miss on any pretext. Each time the trip is
[527] made on horseback, and the husband comes back home the same day or the next.

When the two families live in places too distant from each other, for example, two days or more, the daughter-in-law makes only two visits a year to her parents. The first is made after the sowing, about the third moon, and lasts a month, the second after the threshing of the wheat, about the eleventh moon; it lasts a month and a half or even two months. The daughter-in-law will always be back for the festival of the god of the hearth.

[562] Women over forty can go to their own families whenever they like.

Outside of these customary visits there are cases of sickness in the family, mourning, marriage, celebration for a first-born child, etc., and each time the married daughter does not fail to be present.

/84/ This is the customary thing. However, in practice these visits depend on many circumstances. It may happen that the daughter-in-law's family is poor and does not want to entertain its daughter and her two or three small children. Then these visits will become shorter and less numerous. It may happen that the relations of the daughter-in-law with her family are less intimate, then of course they see one another less. When the parents of the married daughter are dead, the brothers and the sisters-in-law invite their sister less. Likewise when the married daughter has several children, she will not be able to take them all away with her, and she will not want to leave them for as long a time and so often. If the husband and wife get along well together and the daughter-in-law is well treated by the mother-in-law, her visits will naturally be reduced; but although reduced, they are always extraordinarily frequent.

In general, these visits are the cause of many troubles in the two families because they are too prolonged and too frequent. They give the young wife every chance for relations that are not praiseworthy at her place of origin, and these end up by chilling the relationship with her husband. During these visits the daughter often complains about her mother-in-law; then her parents, in order to

/157 cont'd/

Ma 574 593

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 90-91: The second long visit of the newly married wife in her mother's house may be also understood as a survival of the customs that prescribed to the newly married wife to keep her place in her mother's house. Furthermore the Manchus never say "the wife's father's clan" but "the wife's mother's clan." At the same time they say " he husband's clan" and "the husband's father's clan." Thus all these facts cannot be explained without a supposition of the materline clan system in the past. /Cited in English./

Mo 562 421 593 574 her finest clothes, her ornaments, her jewels, and everything that is dear to her. One keeps one's treasures at one's home; now, the home of the daughter-in-law does not seem to be near her husband. This last custom, which still effectively recognizes that the wife today has certain property rights, does not belong to a patriarchal organization; furthermore, we saw in the speech of the master of ceremonies that formerly the daughter enjoyed property rights since in her own family she inherited half of a son's share.

e) Festivities at the birth of daughters.

Mo 527 844 We shall describe elsewhere the extraordinary noisy festivities in which the whole village takes part, given on the occasion of the birth of the first child of a daughter-in-law, whether this child be a son or daughter, the celebration is equally solemn. Now such a festivity upon the birth of a daughter is again absolutely abnormal in a patriarchal system, where only the male descendant counts. We must note that already in many T'ou-jen families this festivity is celebrated only upon the birth of the first son. This celebration is absolutely inconceivable to a Chinese mind.

Mo [171]

f) Wedding dinner at the bride's home.

Mo 585 562 In a patriarchal system how does one justify the dinner given at the bride's home for the members of her family alone on the eve of

[21 cont.]
*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

776 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit
*778 it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tiengĕre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house un-
[792] til the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropri-
ate remuneration. The master of the household, however, in-
● [527] vites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new
[273] event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a
[346] spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the
[782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the
[791] spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is sim-
*778 ply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[51 cont.]

777 of the Buddha image or, in case there is a chapel, kept in the
*778 chapel. If it is stuck somewhere without an urn, this must also always be in the main house.

777 Construction and consecration: The arrow without the urn
*778 is prepared and provided with the attachment by the master of the household himself without any kind of ceremony. It is then
782 fumigated once and stuck in its place with an incense offering.

In the case of an arrow with an urn, the lama is invited with the usual formalities. He makes his torma, sets up the little water-bowls, etc., just as on other occasions. Then he prays for a day or more and gives the prayer of consecration over the arrow. During this prayer the arrow is fumigated with cypress incense. Then the pot is brought, washed, and fumigated, while the lama prepares the scroll. The latter is also fumigated. After that, the grain is poured into the urn and the arrow stuck in it. The master of the household places the pot with the arrow in front of the lama on the kang, and the latter then attaches the individual objects. Each piece is first held in the incense and then handed to the lama. Everything is accompanied by the lama's prayer. It is also permissible for other persons, for example, the master of the household, to tie on the attachments. -- The master of the household then places the arrow-urn on the chest in front of the god's image with the usual offering gifts: little water-bowls, wine, grain, butter, milk, bread, etc. Outside in the yard the great incense offering is made, and inside all those present make a three-fold kowtow before the new arrow of good fortune. During the entire veneration, however, the lama remains seated on the kang and prays.

777 At noon a family festival[1] is celebrated with a banquet,
*778 and there is singing and drinking into the night. The lama
●[527] stays until the following morning.

[787] Use and significance: The arrow is never used for sooth-
[585] saying because it cannot become the seat of a spirit, like the spirit-spear, for instance (5). Only once is it taken out of the

[1] [to celebrate the consecration of the arrow of good fortune - ANALYST]

[56 cont.]

782 Now comes the offering. Incense is burned on the fumi-
*778 gating plate under the mani-tree, while a table with the follow-
ing gifts is put in front of it (1): a number of small bowls of

1. [Foreign text p. 60.] One can also burn incense directly at the foot of the tree inside the round manger and set the offerings there.

barley wine, grain, pure water, a large bowl of tea, bread, butter- or oil-lamps, and two vases of colorful flowers. -- The lama comes out, sits down on the opposite side of the central fort on a white felt mat, and gives the consecrating prayer. Meanwhile all those present kowtow and blow the conch.

After the prayer, the offerings are cleared away. Water and wine are poured on the ground, and small pieces of the bread are thrown into the air. The little oil-lamps are left standing. Everything else is taken into the house.

*778 The master of the household gives the guests a meal; they
●527 dance and sing and drink into the night in the yard around the
[792] new mani-tree -- The next morning the lama is taken home to the monastery.

Details

791
*778 Persons: For praying, an ordinary lama, not a Living
[782] Buddha, but sometimes a Bon priest, is invited. Everything can
[792] also be done without a lama, but then the performance lasts
[592] only one day because the praying is omitted. In this case the master of the household himself erects the tree. The ceremonies are almost the same as with a lama. The soothsayer, however, may never be lacking, whether or not he is a spear-soothsayer, or the litter-bearers or the table-god soothsayer (2).

[787] 2. [Foreign text p. 60.] The soothsayer is invited in the morning and given hospitality. He calls down the spirit and then determines precisely

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pennant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no soothsayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Everything is done without special ceremonies, even without an incense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

357 *778 The round manger: When a new compound is laid out, a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beńkań (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[59 cont.]
357 festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).
*778
[527]
[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

*778 Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-
539 tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[66 cont.]

782 [533] Sitting before the obo, the lama gives the appropriate prayers, accompanying them on his hourglass drum and the bell. At the same time the people burn incense at several places, kowtow, and blow the conch. This service may sometimes last the entire day. When the lama is finished with the prayer, he takes the torma to a stone on the obo, sprinkles the obo with holy water, and casts barley on it, over which he lightly blows with his mouth. The people then take something from offerings that stand in front of the obo, pluck something off, and throw some of this into the incense fire and on the obo. The flowers are all thrown on the mound. Meanwhile others have already placed the spears, twigs, and mani-flags on the obo and have thrown the votive gifts on it, as at the month offering. Then all of them circle around the obo, throwing the white stones and praying the obo call. At this point all of them once more make a threefold kowtow, drink tea, and go home.

The prayer service may also last several days. Then people set up tents on the mountain and live and eat there.

527 782 The obo festival: Every year on the sixth day in the sixth month an obo festival takes place. At these festivals the obo is venerated in the morning, as it is at the month offering. A sheep offering and the prayer service of the lama may also be connected with it.

527 [541] [533] [439] [524] [178] [541] [533] All the people from the neighborhood, men and women, old and young, gather at the obo. If the obo terrain is too difficult and not level enough, they gather at the foot of the mountain or on a meadow. There the men hold horse races, people sit around the fire and drink and sing; they eat and dance and laugh. Chinese traders appear, set up their booths, and peddle their wares. -- Formerly, when the old weapons were still used, the horse races were followed by archery, spear throwing, and sword fights. Wrestling matches were especially popular. Nowadays this is no longer the case. Only the horse racing and the singing contests are still held. The mountain-spirit rejoices when the people are so gay (3).

[171]

3. [Foreign text p. 69.] The obo festival is also celebrated by the

[66 cont.]

527
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowa-

[178]

days these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

*778
776

Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

[782]
[825]

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[411]

[784]

The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse = obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rĕdziõñ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzĕ dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzĕ tada xoni šĕñlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzĕ tada mošguni.

The offerings: yileñĕ šĕñlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sõ-.

To set up a tent: bekārge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kāni mori gurdā?

[524] Shooting competition: sēmu sēmuda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kāni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgĕ walde-.

Whose strength is great: kāni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgĕ nigĕ dõlā-.

Whose songs are many: kāni dõ uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzĕ šda rĕdziõñ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzĕ šdodlõ, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzĕ ayili kun, ase, mulā-sĕla, nasā, ġuosāni furoñlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[72 cont.]

346
*778
192

[Note on foreign text pp. 77-78 cont.] a roof, such as dzĕw-yi and ger-kaṅ. The kaṅ described here is this ger-kaṅ. Actually the name is a tautology, for ger is Mongolic and means house (tent), in other words, the same as the Tibetan kaṅ. Besides these names, there are other special designations for beṅkaṅ, such as mani beṅkaṅ, tsala beṅkaṅ, dšoma beṅkaṅ, maridzĕ beṅkaṅ. Unfortunately all these types could not be inquired into precisely [78], nor likewise the meaning of the name and the contents of the beṅkaṅ. The many rĕduombeṅ (7) [see Note 7 below], pyramid-like stonepiles which hold down evil demons, as is also reported in the Tujen myth of the female man-eater Mangudzĕ, probably also belong among the beṅkaṅ. For this function the Chinese have the expression pu mei-ch'i, that is, to plug up the (earth)veins' breath.

*778 [791] Time: The chorten chamber may be erected at any time of the year, although the frost-free period is preferred because of the work on the walls. The soothsayer designates the specific day and hour. -- The preparation, however, takes many weeks because the building material, the urns, and the clay cones must be manufactured. In addition, a small village festival [527] is always connected with the erection and for that reason the time after the harvest is preferred.

[621] [476] [562] [792] Persons? All the persons of the village take part in the preparations, men, women, and children. The leader divides the work among the individual families. At the erection and the consecrating ceremonies, however, only men are active. Women are kept away. -- The consecration of the urns and the service

[75 cont.]

*778 346 with one another at the same height at the top. The leader brings 12 loaves and some liquor and places them on a tray before the chorten-mountain. The carpenters lay the ridge-piece by it. Into it they have drilled a hole, filled it with grain and butter, and closed it again with a wooden cover. The leader binds an ell of red cloth around this place -- it is the middle. Then they burn incense and kowtow. At the same time the tools are put on a small measure of grain before the loaves. [483] The carpenters now climb on the frame and draw up the ridge-piece by ropes. The leader then throws two loaves of bread up to them, which they throw back; likewise the liquor is handed up to them, which they drink. Only now do the carpenters put the ridge-piece on the supports, exactly above the sky column. The latter, however, does not touch the ridge-piece, but towers up in the center, not quite reaching the ridge. -- [783] The ridge-piece is likewise sprinkled with pure water beforehand and fumigated with incense and the red-hot stone.

Now the carpenters again climb down, and the men begin to erect the wall between the corner posts. When these have reached about 50 centimeters, so that the chorten can no longer roll out, they pause. Once again incense leaves are scattered over the chorten-mountain and then work is resumed, evenly on all four sides. At head level a gap is left on each side. They immediately continue to build the wall up to the roof and everything is immediately covered with clay mortar. The roof is also [76] immediately covered. When everything is dry, the outside is whitewashed. -- If it is not finished on the same day, work is continued on the next day.

Towards the end the lama once again makes a torma and places it in front of the chorten chamber. One again burns incense, blows the conch, and kowtows. Then everyone, even the women, go around the chamber, as around an obo. -- Frequently the lama once again sprinkles the new chorten-chamber with holy water after the whitewashing; [527] then all go home and celebrate the event with a feast, singing, dancing, and drinking.

[782] Veneration of the chorten chamber: Later the chorten chamber is venerated on certain days by a procession around it

[620]

IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

• See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other relatives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.

Details

Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]

553
592
792

4. [Foreign text p. 622.] A lama can also perform the ceremony. This is rarely done, however. Usually the father or kin-group elder does it.

is never a woman or a relative from the family of the woman in childbed.

Following the name-giving or in the course of the day, the mother with the child in her arms must kowtow to all the guests; for this she receives a small gift of money for the child. -- Towards noon the family holds a general feast, for men and women separately. On this occasion much barley wine is drunk, and there is singing and dancing.

431
527
273
562

852

Reception of the shepherd: Towards evening, when the animals are expected back from the pasture, the father or the mother takes the infant in his arms and takes it out in front of the gate of the yard, where they meet the homecoming herd. The shepherd must give the child some money, and in return the father gives him a loaf of bread which he must eat immediately. This custom is called "to welcome the shepherd"; the Chinese say "to welcome the sheep" (2). -- The guests

431
553

171
846

2. [Foreign text p. 622.] The reception of the shepherd is also found among the Chinese, just as the termination of the confinement generally is almost the same among them. In the region of Hei-tsuei-tzu (Hsi-ch'uan) I learned from the missionary there, P. Frick, that the people place the child in the manger so that it may later own many herds and become a good horseman. This custom could not be confirmed for the Tujen.

[621 cont.]
852 553 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192 846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852 527 2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] [302] [778] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[628 cont.]

302
852

[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally, little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852
[784] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]
852
171

5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[623 cont.]

852
171.

[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

• 527

The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

[769]

[177]
[769]

Word List

192
[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

192
776 [623 cont.]
The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sa̍ṅrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.]
dier xsēm sa̍ṅrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sa̍ṅrēdzi = Tib. sa̍ṅs -rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192
777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

527

*See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171]
[574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[625 cont.]

[527] dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
[782] During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
[388] day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated, joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.
[628] From the second day on the people make New Year's visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

527
[354]

[177]

1. [Foreign text p. 628.] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] [177] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

527
782
[888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the [783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

[626 cont.]

527
782
[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[789]
[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[776]
[372]

[372]
[983]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[626 cont.]

527
782
[372]
[783]
[171]

[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

527 [626 cont.]
782 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

527 [627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
888 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
576 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527
[776] The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[627 cont.]

527 782 Obo veneration: At the same time or still in the early hours of the morning some family representatives go outside to venerate the obo. On this occasion, after the stone throwing, the air-horses, which are printed on yellow paper, are released. They flutter and whirl about in the wind as a sign of good fortune for the family (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 628.]
Cf. section, "The Mani-tree,"
Note 7.

527 574 Gratulation visits: At midday the villagers visit one another. One takes five to six loaves of bread, sticks of incense, yellow paper, and a little jug of barley wine and goes to the family with which one is friendly. There the guest places the bread before the household altar, lights the little sticks, burns the paper, and pours a few drops of wine on the floor. After that he kowtows before the altar and gratulates the master of the household as well as the individual members of the family. [576] The one of lower standing or the younger one must always kowtow to the one of higher standing on this occasion. Then they sit down on the kang around the fire, drink tea or wine, converse, and sing. Sometimes a round of dancing also follows in the yard.

When women go gratulating, they take no wine, incense, or paper with them, but only bread and tea. They put the bread on the altar, pour some tea on the ground, and then kowtow. They never sit with the men on a kang, however.

It is obligatory that the younger relatives go to the older relatives. In any case on New Year's Day itself one stays in the village. Only from the second day on do the friends and relatives living farther away visit one another.

527 533 Entertainment: During the first 14 days of the new year the people meet every evening at moonrise in the yards. Incense is burned and singers who tell legends are invited. They take turns singing competitively, during which two persons grasp each other by a lappet of the coat. When one of them

[627 cont.]
527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

[535] [171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the [illegible]a, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song given here is Tibetan in its original text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

[171]

[539] [883]

[628 cont.]

527
[533]
[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.] one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

[262]

[539]
[533]

Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

192
527

Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara noġdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõñ = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuănuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xġeni ala-.
To bake oil-baking: tsiaṅġuor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēṅġē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõṅge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmieṅge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: taġur šdimieṅge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar noġdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõñ bi ndēra, malõñ siernege purġan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[252]

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

527
778
888

4. The Age-blessing*

* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a [574] feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

527
778
888

The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

[792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

[604]
[681]
[262]

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

[431]

Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[604]
[431]

[631 cont.]
husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 684.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

527
778
888
792
[604]

[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each [788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

[192]

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

[783]

4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear. They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over it. [783] The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the commandments that he must observe from now on. [785] These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. [292] It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. [292] The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morning prayers, [465] drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang, 888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without [785] food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527]

5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

[792]

778

It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

[796]
[792]

[633 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dz̆awdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loo, cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gā̃ńsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

Age-consecration: ś̆ge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kā̃nguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: g̀dzō niwa (twice) (or dā̃wu, if the first time).

Mother's brother: nēgā̃; achiu (Chin.); ayā̃n.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

Sash: g̃ēdzā̃n (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzā̃n: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gō̃ńsō̃n: Tib. dgoń = solitude, soń = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlō̃ńba: Tib. dge = virtue, sloń = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsñen = to approach. -- gā̃ńsgur:

[633 cont.]

192
778
888
527

[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.] Tib. dbaṅ = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnién dzẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gẽsoi (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõnba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

000

* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

[257 cont.]

792 went there. Pander speaks (op. cit., p. 204) of Man-tzu or Chinese from Sining, who were accommodated in 13 temples in Peking (1889). These Man-tzu (= barbarians), however, could only have been Tujen, for the Chinese are not Lamaists, and the Tibetans (Fan-tzu) are specifically named by Pander. The monastery Sung-chu-szu is regarded expressly as a Tujen lamasery. Even today (at least up until 1948) almost all its monks come from the Sining region and are Tujen, as the monks from this monastery related during a visit home. To be sure the number has shrunk greatly.

771 These are all facts that must be taken into account in
792 judging the Lamaism of the Tujen. The people are proud of
[788] their famous monastery. It is their pilgrimage center. Young
[527] and old gather there at the festivals. They hold horse races
[796] and sing their old popular airs there. At the temple festivals
[798] with the magnificent dances the Lamist doctrine is deepened and clarified. In the venerable halls filled with incense they see their gods in magnificent statues, painted on silk, on walls and altars. There lie also the heavy sacred books of the Kandjur and Tandjur, which they bear on their backs around the sanctuary in order to free themselves from affliction or to fulfill a vow. In the temples and yards they watch the monks hold learned disputations, read the scriptures, recite the prayers. They invite them to undertake solemn religious services in their compounds, to give their children their names, to consecrate the old, [258] to bless the young, to pray for the dead, to cre-
[574] mate the corpses. The lama is a frequent and welcome guest in the family. Generally, the people seem to link themselves
[757] to the monastic life at the important stages of life. Even the
[778] shaman receives his consecration in the monastery. Every family was proud if one of its sons became a lama; indeed, it was even an unwritten law.

771 So it was, at least until the most recent times. Today,
792 however, the young people no longer want to know anything
177 about becoming a lama. They prefer to attend the Chinese schools and are intent on the new education. They despise the old and do not take it seriously anymore. What the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and peace in the families, and assured entrance into the paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba*.[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on the neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba*, sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been accustomed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Mon-

[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih*, 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

[p.137(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1967 AE9 Monguor AE9

guors and Tibetans of Hsining follow the Chinese cus- 527
tom, performing this celebration in their own way on their sixtieth birthdays. The cycle of age is celebrated according to the wealth of the people with more or less festivity, with a master of ceremony, dinners which, as at marriages, are served around a big fire, songs. Members of the family, relatives, chiefs of the village, friends, are invited and offer their congratulations. Poor people are happy to kill a sheep and to entertain fewer guests. Many Monguors and Tibetans are accustomed to add to this celebration a Lamaist religious rite, inviting a Living Buddha, and ostentatiously offering him substantial alms, receiving his blessings and assuming on that day the duty of observing more Lamaist prescriptions, by becoming a kind of lay-monk or lay-nun. Even poor people add this rite, but act in a more modest way.

The essence of the rite of the cycle of age among the [604]
Monguors consists in the required assistance of the maternal uncle of the subject of the feast. The latter's presence is so important that in case he has departed, a member of his family must take his place. The ceremony consists in a morning rite attended by all the guests, the honoring by the celebrant of "Heaven and all the spirits" in the open courtyard, with the setting off of firecrackers, immediately followed by his honoring the guardian deity of his family on the altar in the living room. The rich and the poor, and those who add the Lamaist rite, always are faithful to the two essential customs. The fact that at this time some invite a Living Buddha and become a lay-monk is accidental, because most of the Monguors enact the celebration without this Lamaist rite.

The men celebrate their cycle of age in a more or less elaborate way, but the women usually celebrate it on a minor scale. The Lamaist rite is usually performed on the same day, so that the expenses of two feasts are avoided and a big attendance is secured, for the Monguors are afraid few people would arrive for the celebration of a Lamaist rite only. It happens that sometimes a man may enact the Lamaist rite before his sixtieth birthday. In fact no time is fixed for the performance of this rite, it can even be done after death. More men than women perform the Lamaist rite, but young people are not interested in it.

In the early morning of the birthday the guests arrive, the members of the family and the relatives offer the traditional scarf and the "ten breads of longevity" and two jars of wine; sons-in-law add three strings of cash. The subject of the feast, holding incense sticks in his joined hands, led by his maternal uncle, proceeds

the Ch'i-Liang dynasties (479-557) and came in vogue during the T'ang and the Sung. In 729 the imperial birthday was for the first time made a national festival. The institution of letting people join the Buddhist order as monk or nun on the imperial birthday dates from 767; the offering of felicitation to the emperor on his birthday dates from 820. On their birthdays, the T'ang Emperors used to fast, and hence the slaughter of animals was forbidden on these days; this institution dates from 837.

[M138(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

toward the middle of the courtyard where a big fire is built, which will not be allowed to go out the whole day. In the presence of all the guests, on the command of the master of the ceremonies, he prostrates himself devoutly three times, honoring "Heaven and all the spirits." Then, led by the maternal uncle and followed by the guests, he enters the living room, and on the command of the master of ceremonies prostrates himself again three times before the house altar, toward the picture of the guardian deity of his family, which usually is a Taoist spirit. Lamps are lit on the adorned altar during the whole day. 527 ●

Then the celebrant receives congratulations as he sits on the k'ang, surrounded by the maternal uncle, the chief of the village and the elders, and the members of the family who belong to a higher generation than his own. On the command of the master of ceremonies, first come the members belonging to the generation above his own, bowing their heads and presenting the traditional scarfs. Then arrive the members belonging to his own generation who, in a group, bow their heads and hands nine times and present their scarfs. Then follow the members belonging to younger generations, sons, grandchildren, who, in groups, one after another, prostrate themselves nine times and offer their scarfs. Then the celebrant prostrates himself before his maternal uncle and presents him with a scarf, and all the guests perform the same rite. Finally all the women prostrate themselves in a group before the celebrant and the maternal uncle. Thereafter a cup of wine is presented to the celebrant by the master of ceremonies, who makes the traditional speech with plenty of congratulations. Then follows the breakfast in the courtyard where the guests are accommodated as for the big dinners of marriage and where the celebrated "noodles of longevity" are served.[16] [604]

The noodles are made with white flour of wheat cut in long thin filaments. The celebrant, with the maternal uncle and the most outstanding guests, occupies the middle table in the center of the courtyard, on which, in front of him, are put two empty bowls. Wine is presented and congratulations offered by the master of ceremonies, and all the guests one after another take some noodles out of their bowls and put them in the empty bowls of the celebrant, wishing him a happy new cycle of years. The breakfast of the women is served after that of the men. In the afternoon starts the gala dinner like the dinners at the marriages, followed by merrymaking.

LAMAIST RITE

Those who add the Lamaist rite send some youngsters of the village on good horses to the lamasery after breakfast, in order to invite the Living Buddha, who will arrive at noon. In the meantime, after breakfast, the maternal uncle, in the presence of the guests, starts inquiring about the alms the family has proposed to 527 604 792

[16] Schram, *op. cit.*, 42.

[p. 138(B)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, according to the custom, he urges that they should offer five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas. 527 604 792

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma*; he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [784] inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

[p. 139(A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

presented to the Living Buddha with the scarf. It is the gift for outstanding persons. Then the master of ceremonies makes his traditional speech. After having thanked the Living Buddha, he starts his usual speech of apology: "We are ashamed to have treated the holy man so irreverently, the meat we prepared was tough and tasteless for it was meat of an old animal. The rolls were badly kneaded and hard, and boiled in rancid oil. The k'ang, on which the holy man slept was not heated enough. The holy man could not sleep a wink the whole night. Our k'ang is too short, the saintly man could not stretch out his noble legs. The felt spread on the k'ang was too thin, his holy limbs must be sore. We are a poor family and should like to offer a herd of sheep. We are ashamed to be only able to offer an old horse, saddled with a broken saddle. Our harvest this year was the worst we ever reaped, so we can afford only to offer a couple of sacks of rancid rolls. To add to our frustration, the wool of our sheep was so bad and short this year, that we can only offer a thin felt poorly prepared by an unskilled artisan. The butter we prepared for the lamas and the lamps is nearly all rancid. What we offer to you is more like a gift offered at a burial than a gift fit for these circumstances." Then the maternal uncle and the celebrant prostrate themselves, apologizing and presenting the scarf. The Living Buddha protests that he is very happy, and thanks the family for its prodigality, and promises his blessings.

At the moment of departure the family kneels with incense sticks in their joined hands at the gate of the courtyard; each of the assistant lamas receive two strings of cash, and the Living Buddha takes with him the packet of dollars. After him follow some youngsters with a beautiful horse, saddled with the finest saddle, and a precious rug upon it, with some animals carrying butter and tea for the lamas of the monastery, rolls, meat and sugar, and the news is spread all over the country that so and so offered such and such gifts with an unusual prodigality.

Poor families offer to the Living Buddha fifty strings of cash instead of a horse. The celebrant who belongs to a still poorer family goes at noon with his maternal uncle to the lamasery, in order to see a Living Buddha who performs the rites upon him and is presented with two strings of cash.[17]

This information was given me by several masters of ceremonies and Monguors who attended the rites, and had themselves performed them.

XIII. DEATH

In connection with the funeral customs of the Monguors, a few words should be said about their notions concerning the souls, because these have an important bearing upon the funeral customs.

[17] Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Der Alters Sagen*, 630.

[P.139(B)]

/The Monguors/

N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with a person of position or rank. [264] [603] [554] [561]

The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the M 614 cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders n96 and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the N *563 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to M 614 the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and • 527 the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the 273 monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is M 562 particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. [558] The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status [852] in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to [782] pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms [852] lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the